

## ISLAM, TERRORISM AND SECURITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA<sup>1</sup> Hikmatul Akbar<sup>2</sup>

### Abstract

*As Osama bin Laden killed in a raid in 2011, the world seems to be in peace. But far away in Southeast Asia terrorism still got its roots. Indonesia as the largest country in the region, and the biggest Muslim population country in the world has its time to face. More Muslim group, various affiliations, many direct interactions to other countries brings more possible threat to security. And the closest friend to Muslim groups also lies in the region, Malay, Moro of Philippines, Pattani of Thailand and Rohingya in Myanmar. The year of 2012 shows some terrorist action in Indonesia. Shooting, attacks, bombings, happen in some areas in Indonesia. The casualties could be minor, but it spread fear to tourists, MNC's employees, Embassies staffs, and even the local citizens. For the majority Muslim people in Indonesia, terror is an evil act and it will be condemned. Two biggest Islamic organizations in Indonesia NU and Muhammadiyah urge all Islamic schools to coordinate more to fight terrorism, and it's also needed to coordinate with government and the police. Terrorist cells have to be identified clearly before it is captured and arrested, but should be careful to make difference with the small groups which only teaching Qur'an, Hadith and Arabic language. As the globalization spread and less border inspection, all the groups tends to have better relations with the similar groups in other countries, but it is important to know it's not just about terror, it could be economic interaction, supporting human right and spreading peace and tolerance to other Muslim communities in the world. Fighting terrorism is about to understand Muslim Communities, to understand Islamic teaching, to coordinate among governments, Security Officer and Muslim Leader, and to coordinate to another countries.*

### Introduction

Most of the terrorism incident that happened beyond this century is related to the 911 event, created approach Al Qaeda played important role in terrorism action all over the world and reshaping the balancing on international politics. Al Qaeda is one of the Muslim groups which strongly opposed the United States (US). In spite of Bush's announcement that disconnected relations between terrorism action and Islamic teaching and Muslim community as a whole, most of people in the world accused them as source of violence and hatred, leading to terrorism action.

People of the world forget many of terrorism action before often happen also by other religious communities. They use terror to fight in insurgencies war. The rebel groups as IRA in Ireland, ETA in Spain, LTTE in Ceylon, Aum Shinrikyo in Japan, EZLN in Mexico, and FARC and ELN in Colombia. They're

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<sup>1</sup> Presented in Seminar "Issues of Regional Security in Asia", Metropolitan University Prague, Prague, Czech Republic, November 8<sup>th</sup>, 2012.

<sup>2</sup> Lecturer of International Relations Department, UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

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not Muslim, but surely they used violence, kidnapping and bombing to struggle for their goals. They created terror in public.

As in Southeast Asia, it has some problems also about minorities. Not even the biggest country like Indonesia, but it happen in Thailand, Myanmar and Philippines. Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in Philippines accused for Davao airport bombing in 2003, motorcade bombing in 2006 and kidnapping of Italian priest in 2007. MILF motive for fight is to gain the independence. Government of Philippines accused the MILF of having strong relation with Al Qaeda and Jamaah Islamiyah. And the soldier of MILF was trained in Pakistan and Afghanistan, including bombing training. It is the autonomy status of the region that brings the effect of peace this October 15.

The same thing happened in Pattani of Thailand. Muslim minorities in the region want more recognition as a religious group from the government. They want to apply all Islamic teaching in daily life. But in Thailand you can't even use a name that sound like stranger. So there would not be any Arabic names in Thailand. Motorcycle bombing accident in 2011 and truck bombing on July 2012 shows the terrors still exist in the country. Creating an image of the Muslim Region can caused a terror everywhere. It is General Sonthi Bunyaratkalin who can calm down the anger of Muslim in Pattani. He is the only Muslim that can reach very high position (as a commander of Army) in Thai Military as well as in the government. In the case of Pattani conflict, General Sonthi prefers to use peaceful settlement rather than using military force.

The Muslim minority problem can also spread through Myanmar, with its Rohingya problem and the position of Panthay Muslim that has connection up to Yunnan in the southern China. For sometimes they can cut connection between the minority and terrorist abroad. But once it's connected to religious teaching, the government will have a hard time to face.

Aside of Bali's bombing in 2002, the terrorist bombing in Indonesia happened again in 2009 when two hotels of JW Marriott and Ritz-Carlton suffered from blasting, killed 9 people. The year of 2012 marked a decade of Bali bombing in Indonesia. The terror that caused death of 202 people, most of them were foreigner, and many come from Australia. Julia Gillard, Prime Minister of Australia come herself to pay grievance on the anniversary ceremony. And she comes in spite of travel warning about the raising of new terrorist link in Indonesia. In the same month, anti terrorist special force of Indonesia, Detachment 88 had arrested some ten terrorist in four cities of Bogor, Jakarta, Solo and Madiun. The Police also sent it Mobile Brigade to fight terrorist in Poso, on the island of Sulawesi. The entire terrorist suspected on preparing the bombing at US embassy and consulate, as well as the Freeport office in Jakarta.

Regarding the situation in Southeast Asia nowadays, especially in Indonesia, once again we must pay attention to this terrorist action. But in spite of focusing on military action we can trace the terrorist action back to its root, the idea of fighting and violence within Islamic teaching. This paper will discuss about the relations between terrorism and Islam, and its impact to security in Southeast Asia.

## **Terrorism and Islam**

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It is the new thinking of states role in global politics that have been reshaped for the last three decades. The world not merely belongs to west and east, nor communism and capitalist. States confront not only the power of other states but that of other actors like intergovernmental organization, actors of their own creation. Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) like the United Nations, NATO, or World Trade Organizations, are attributed power to constrain states and to have interest in their own right. These IGOs are complemented by thousands of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). These influence state and IGO policies and behavior. Global market and notably multinational corporations, the dominant actors within them, further limit and enlarge state power depending on the policy domain, say, environmental, health, labor or trade issues. Powerful individuals, too, are capable of influencing state security and non-security interest. These may be influential market players, like George Soros, who made million by speculating on fluctuation in monetary rates, or determined reformers, like Jody Williams, who convinced many states to ban land mines. More darkly, private actors can be terrorists like Osama Bin Laden, whose Al Qaeda network reportedly has cells in sixty countries.<sup>3</sup> And the case of Osama has become the headlines in the last decades considered him as the most wanted terrorist by US.

The word terrorist and terrorism came from Latin 'Terror'. It was the French Revolution to make the word famous. Reign of Terror of Robespierre marked the government right on using violence for political purpose. It is not just in the field of war nor has to do by the troops. Dipak Gupta, a prominent scholar, tends to consider terrorism nature as collective action. It is to understand why people engage in such action in the name of a group based on ethnicity, religion nationalism or ideology.<sup>4</sup> People nowadays acknowledge terrorism as a violence, or threatens violence against civilian to achieve military or political objectives. There are five most relevant root causes of terrorism; First, rapid modernization and urbanization which strongly related with emergence of ideological terrorism; Second, Lack of democracy, civil liberties and the rule of law which become precondition to many forms of domestic terrorism; Third, historical antecedent of political violence; Fourth, repression by foreign occupation or colonial power; And fifth, perceived feelings of discrimination based on ethnic or religious origin.<sup>5</sup>

Many political scholars bring the idea about four waves of modern terrorism, which are the anarchist, the anti colonial, new-left, and religious wave. While the new left considered as the terrorism in cold war era, religious wave is terrorism post cold war that leading to the word 'Islam'. They attack the enemy (or considered enemy) and symbols of enemy, and normally have a strong focus on US, Israel and Secular Muslim Government. To this new wave of terrorism, number of terrorist groups maybe decline, but casualties increase.

The roots of terrorism Islam can be traced back to the founding of Israeli state. So many times Arabic countries try to combat Israel but none came to satisfying result. In contrary, it shows the fragile

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<sup>3</sup> Edwar A Kolodziej, *Security and International Relations, Security and International Relations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005, p. 156.

<sup>4</sup> *Concept of Terrorism: Analysis of The Rise, Decline, Trend and Risk, Transnational Terrorism, Security and The Rule of Law*, <http://www.transnationalterrorism.eu> accessed Sept 28<sup>th</sup>, 2012.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

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of Arabic identity as well as Islamic as a nationality. Secular Islamic State and stronger Monarch created disintegration of Arabic sense. This event brought Palestinian to empty hope and has to face Israeli soldier at home. The other event raised up terrorism idea was suppression by Soviet backed up Najibullah regime of Afghanistan. It called Mujahidin to fight government, thus stronger civil militia and increasing the information about terrorist tactic. The same case happened for Bosnian War and Chechnya Insurgencies in Russia.

With the idea of Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwanul Muslimin) and jihadist concept, each cells of terrorist and insurgencies connected one another. They send individual to be trained in other countries, practicing and join the war, and then get back to home countries with so much skills and abilities to create terror and preserving global jihad. They provide funds for another group as well as component to create a bomb. Even the Bin Laden family lives in very rich country as Saudi Arabia. His house lies no more than 1,000 feet from Saudi's military academy. Several decades earlier the terrorist groups actually had connection one another even though they had really different objectives, but it is different than the Osama's Al Qaeda groups which working with the Franchise system. Any radical Islamic group may join Al Qaeda, get funded and trained, as long as it goes along with the objectives and the enemy they fight for. And they have abundant resources to get it done, despite of the vast area of Muslim world.

The Muslim world is spread across Europe, Africa and Asia, with sizeable communities in the Americas, India and China. But the Middle East and South East Asia form the heartland of this faith, with Saudi Arabia providing the birthplace of Islam, and Indonesia representing the most populous Muslim Country. The political geography of the faith, however, has experienced some significant change in the decade. The emergence of a Muslim-dominated Bosnia in former Yugoslavia, the regeneration of Islam in Albania in Southern Europe and the rising of Kosovo state has ended Turkey's position as the only Muslim State in Europe. The presence of these states is already being felt in inter-state and inter-communal relations within the region. With the collapse of Soviet Union, six Muslim republics came into existence in the Caucasus and Central Asia. These states much more in tuned with secularist Turkey than with the traditional Islamic forces in the Arab world.<sup>6</sup> It can be said that Islam has more area, but still out of control of the radicals.

The radicals of course want all of the countries practice Islam like they do. The Jihad concept then can be applied anywhere in the world. But to understand logic of terrorism is not that simple. Such rational cost-benefit approach to terrorism has recently been used to explain irrational acts of terror especially suicide terrorist. According to Robert Pape, suicide terrorism is not usually the work of random fanatics, but rather part of a distinct and organized strategy by a group to win political concession at a relatively low cost.<sup>7</sup> While the act may be irrational at the individual level, because the perpetrator does not survive to harvest the result of the attack, suicide terror can be successful strategy for a group if it forces to end an occupation of contested territory. By sacrificing his or her own life, the

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<sup>6</sup> Anoushiravan Ehteshami, "Islamic Fundamentalism and Political Islam", in Brian White, et al.), *Issues in World Politics*, McMillan, London, 1997, p. 181.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism", *American Political Science Review*, vol. 97, p. 343-361. Seminar "Issues of Regional Security in Asia", Metropolitan University Prague, Prague, Czech Republic, November 8<sup>th</sup>, 2012.

terrorist become a martyr who serves a cause with a distinct pay off for his or her real or imagined constituency. Affecting the strategic payoff from this kind of violence, by offering political concession to minimize support for terror from upset people, is seen as crucial for ending suicide terrorism.

Yet there are three reasons to be skeptical of overly simplified explanations of the link between terrorism and Islam.<sup>8</sup> First, as in many religions, the central ideas and text of Islam are polyvalent and can be used to justify many different things. Jihad, for example, can be interpreted merely as a non violent struggle against hardship or as a call to arms against all those who do not subscribe to the true form of Islam. Second, it may not be religion which is having the persuasive effect on radicalizing Muslims. Many Muslims live in states marked by intense political conflict in which radicalization might have occurred no matter what religion was dominant. It may be that religious is only a convenient organizing device in place where transformative politics are attractive but risky. The religious imagery of Islam, in this view, is employed in justifying terror not because of any inherent features of religion itself but because it has an enduring resonance with the terrorist's self ascribed constituency. Finally, grand theories linking Islam with terrorism tend to downplay the role of discrete foreign policy choices made by western governments – for example, support for Israel or the invasion and occupation of Iraq – in motivating groups like Al Qaeda to engage in terrorism.

One would have thought that it was equally obvious after the 911 event that high on the priority list would have been improving US relations with the Islamic world, in order to dry up support for the deviant variant of Islam that is Al Qaeda. After all, Al Qaeda, the enemy that attack US, was engaged in its own successful propaganda campaign to influence millions of Muslims to act against US, as a first step in a campaign to replace government around the world with Taliban-like regimes. To defeat that enemy and prevent it from achieving its objective, it is needed to do more than just arrest and kill people. US and its values needed to be more appealing to Muslim than Al Qaeda is. By all measures, however, Al Qaeda and similar groups were increasing in support from Morocco to Indonesia. If that trend continues, the radical Imams and their Madrasah schools will produce more terrorist than the US jail or shoot. Far from addressing the popular appeal of the enemy that attacked US, Bush handed that enemy precisely what it wanted and needed, proof that US was at war with Islam, that US is the Crusaders come to occupy Muslim land.<sup>9</sup>

The 911 attack and Bush's war on terrorism have significantly changed political and security environment in the Muslim world. It was not only the terrorist attack itself that has changed the environment but, more importantly, the US response and the way which Washington has conducted its fight against terrorism; these has provoked critical concerns in the Muslim world. The support of Muslim countries for the war on terrorism has also varied. Some Muslim countries have given their total support (such as Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and Jordan), some have given verbal support (Tunisian and Morocco), while Egypt and Indonesia have given support but tempered this with criticism.

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<sup>8</sup> Craig A. Snyder, *Contemporary Security and Strategy*, MacMillan Palgrave, New York, 2008, p. 176.

<sup>9</sup> Richard A. Clarke, *Against All Enemies. Inside America's War on Terror*, Free Press, New York, 2004, p. 246. Seminar "Issues of Regional Security in Asia", Metropolitan University Prague, Prague, Czech Republic, November 8<sup>th</sup>, 2012.

The overwhelmed reaction by US In the case of 911 is only bring back the supporters to the barrack. Polls in 2002 found that among US's friend like Egypt, only 15% of the population had a favorable opinion of the US. In Saudi Arabia the number was 12%. And two-thirds of those surveyed in 2033 in countries from Indonesia to Turkey (a NATO ally) were very or somewhat fearful that the US may attack them.<sup>10</sup> Polls taken in Islamic countries after 911 suggested that many or most people thought the US was doing the right thing in its fight against terrorism. Few people saw popular support for Al Qaeda. Half of those surveyed said that ordinary people had a favorable view of the US. By 2003, polls showed that the US had fallen out of support in most of Muslim World. Negative views of the US among Muslims, which had been largely limited to countries in the Middle East have spread. Since summer 2003, favorable ratings for the US have fallen from 61% to 15% in Indonesia and from 71% to 38% among Muslim in Nigeria.<sup>11</sup>

Taking region as whole, different reactions to the Washington's policy also happened in Southeast Asia, the challenged that continues up to this year. Thailand, Singapore and Philippines used the war on terrorism as an opportunity to strengthen closer military cooperation with the US. Malaysia used the fear of terrorism to weaken the Islamic Political opposition by suggesting an association between them and terrorist groups. While Indonesia had to deal with Islamic radicalism that showed a more complicated political challenge to the government.

The massive reaction of some groups of Indonesia's Muslim society against the war in Afghanistan and US invasion of Iraq led to waved anti-western mass demonstration especially against US. In the recent year, it is connected with the movie Innocent of Muslim. Here could be found clear examples of how term jihad emerged as essential element of Islamic political symbol in Indonesian community. The government, then, have to deal with increased support for radical groups such as FPI and Laskar Jihad. The Muslim community also organized massive demonstrations to sweep westerner out of Indonesia land. It took place normally in front of US Embassy. Even though these demonstrations were largely peaceful, its participants were those Muslim likely to think of jihad as a holy war, in the literal sense of using violence against US in the event of attack against Afghanistan.<sup>12</sup>

Even though radical Islamist organizations with their anti-US protest did not enjoy the support of the majority of the population (nor were their followers are significant in number), their Islamic discourse did affect the image of Indonesian Islam in the world. Thus, the increasing influence of radical Muslim groups in Indonesia's politics helped shaped foreign perception of Indonesian Islam. This situation led to the accusation that Indonesia and neighboring countries in the region were a hotbed of militant Islam and international terrorism. Indonesia was even perceived as the weakest link on the fight against terrorism. These accusations, of course, had a negative impact not only on Indonesian Islam but also on Indonesia's credibility in the eyes of international community.

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<sup>10</sup> Thomas Kean, et al., *The 9/11 Commission Report*, W.W. Norton, New York, 2004, p. 376.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 377.

<sup>12</sup> Anak Agung Banyu Perwita, *Indonesia and the Muslim World*, NIAS Press, Copenhagen, p. 161.

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### Security in ASEAN communities

Southeast Asia is a region characterized by complexity, both geographically and ethnically, as well as politically and militarily. The diversity in religion, cultures and ethnic groups, portrays the differences in regional conditions and common similarities of Southeast Asian countries. These governments range from totalitarian, democratic, royal as well as communist regimes, which strongly add to the regional diversity.<sup>13</sup>

Southeast Asia is an important area for trade and transport with vital sea-lanes caring 32% of world oil net trade and 27% of world gas net trade, as well as being rich in natural resources and has a large biodiversity. Moreover, due to its geographical location, as a crossroad the region, it has become a melting pot of cultures and influences from Asia as a whole. The problems in the region such as the over-fishing, water shortage, de-forestation, maritime piracy, and ethnical and religious violence mirrors the wealth in natural resources, diversity and opportunities. Additional reasons for concern have been religious based conflicts and the threat of terrorist acts, like the nightclub bombing in Bali 2002. The reality is that many of the Southeast Asian countries have weak or poor state governance, and corruption and organized crime adds further risks to a region that is already infamous for its history of piracy and trade in illicit-drugs.<sup>14</sup>

The Regional Organization, Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has engaged in the threat of terrorism since 9/11 and the Bali bombings. ASEAN has applied its traditional approach to security, based on comprehensive security and the principle of flexibility, when addressing this challenge. This principle creates balance between national and regional security and emphasizes domestic regime consolidation re-enforced by regional consultations. Member states have sought in various degrees to address terrorism domestically through a mixture of security, law enforcement, socio-economic, ideological, and educational policies. It is noted that Indonesia, the Philippines, and Singapore have handled terrorism more comprehensively than Thailand and Malaysia. Reflecting the synergy between national and regional energy, ASEAN has operated as an umbrella organization meant to complement domestic and sub-regional efforts. It has been committed rhetorically, has produced frameworks of action, as well as reached agreements with the great powers.

Southeast Asians are most concerned with the region's long terms stability. The events of 911 did not alter geo-political relations within the region, or between the region and external powers, and have done little more than highlight issues (such as structural reform and political Islam). Specific worries are Indonesia's management of domestic instability and future role in the region, political Islam, terrorism impact on state-society relations, and development of true community of Southeast Asian Nations.

For many ASEAN countries, terrorism is a continuing low-level threat that must be managed, but is not the defining, nor even the most significant security issue. In the case of terrorist versus US, ASEAN

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<sup>13</sup> Institute for Security and Development Policy, *South Asian Security*, <http://www.isdp.eu/programs-a-initiatives/asia-program/southeast-asia/southeast-asian-security.html> , accessed October 2nd, 2012.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

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states appreciate the US domestic and emotional impact of terror and are prepared to assist the US, but they are skeptical as to its ultimate effectiveness. Government criticism of US counter terrorist activities from some countries is not reflexive anti Americanism. It is instead, a formal and rhetorical measured aimed at domestic and international Islamic audience. In practices, few significant anti American demonstrations or statements are allowed in any of the countries in the region. Nor is there evidence of deep, wide spread anti-Americanism among Southeast Asian public.<sup>15</sup>

For ASEAN's first 30 years Indonesia was the organization's driving force. Facing the terrorist problem, Indonesia's ASEAN neighbors want the country's leader to show a sense of purpose in dealing with its various separatist movements and economic problem. Increased Indonesian instability could lead to an increase in the activities of militant Islamic groups and would make difficult the task of police authorities in tracking down those engaged in terrorism or aiding terrorist groups. While terrorism remains and will remain for some time a challenge for regional countries, the nature and extent of this challenge will differ from country to country, thereby posing an obstacle to regional consensus and cooperation, including the role of regional groups such as ASEAN and the ARF.

The principal regional terrorist organization in Southeast Asia is the Jemaah Islamiah (JI). JI's organizational structure cuts across existing national boundaries – its four *mantiqs* (regions) are: Singapore and Malaysia; Indonesia; Sabah, Sulawesi and Southern Philippines; and Australia. There is evidence of networking among terrorist groups across national frontiers in Southeast Asia, links forged out of strategic and tactical calculations. The JI maintains links with MILF, which allows it to maintain training camps within its own training facility in Camp Abu Bakar. To further its regional networking, the JI set up the *Rabitatul Mujahidin*, a regional caucus of leaders of various Southeast Asian terror organizations sponsored by JI's Abu Bakar Bashir in 1999 so that the 'groups could co-operate and share resources for training, procurement of arms, financial assistance and terrorist operations'. Comprising JI and representatives from MILF, groups in Aceh, Rohingyas of Myanmar and Sulawesi, as well as an unnamed group from Southern Thailand, this group held 3 meetings in Malaysia between 1999 and late 2000. The Philippines' MILF Camp Abu Bakar provides training for GAM (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka/Free Aceh Movement) recruits in Aceh. The Indonesian Islamic Liberation Front (IILF) provided funding support for rebel groups in Southern Philippines. Singapore's JI sought support from transnational networks, especially from the training camps in the Southern Philippines.<sup>16</sup>

Apart from intra-regional links, extremist groups in Southeast Asia also maintain trans-regional ties. The JI is the group which enjoys the closest relationship with the Al-Qaeda organization in the region'. From its recruitment in Afghanistan in the 1990s to the support it enjoyed from Al-Qaeda when it planned to attack US targets in Singapore, JI's links to Al-Qaeda have been clear – as evidenced by the personal rapport between JI's Hambali and Al-Qaeda's Mohamed Atef.

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<sup>15</sup> Jim Rolfe, *Security in Southeast Asia: it is not about the war on terrorism*, <http://www.apcss.org/Publications/APSSS/SecurityinSoutheastAsia.pdf>, accessed October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2012.

<sup>16</sup> Amitav Acharya, *Terrorism and Security in Asia: Redefining Regional Order?*, <http://wwwarc.murdoch.edu.au/publications/wp/wp113.pdf>, accessed October 5th, 2012  
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Al Qaeda provided trained recruits and funds to local Islamist groups in different parts of the world. As an organization with a global membership, Al Qaeda had diverse capabilities, as well as access to unprecedented resources. It effectively armed, trained, financed, and theologically indoctrinated three-dozen Islamist groups in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and the Caucasus. Specifically, over the course of the 1990s, al-Qaeda and Taliban camps in Afghanistan trained between 70,000 and 120,000 Muslim youth to fight in the Philippines (Mindanao), Indonesia (Maluku and Poso), Myanmar, China (Xinjiang), Kashmir, Bosnia, Kosovo, Chechnya, Dagestan, Nagorno- Karabakh, Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, and Yemen, and elsewhere.<sup>17</sup>

In these actions, al-Qaeda provided ideological, financial, and operational support to groups such as the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) in the Philippines; Lashkar Jundullah in Indonesia; Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia (KMM) in Malaysia; Jemmah Salafiyah (JS) in Thailand; Arakan Rohingya Nationalist Organization (ARNO) and Rohingya Solidarity Organisation (RSO) in Myanmar and Bangladesh; and Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), a Southeast Asian organization with a presence in Australia. Al Qaeda also dispatched trainers to establish or serve in the training camps of other groups in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and the Caucasus, and are likely to produce the third generation of *mujahidin*.<sup>18</sup>

The consequences of al-Qaeda's influence in Southeast Asia are evident and scary. The coordinated October 2002 bombings of Bali and the US consulate in Denpasar remain the world's second most deadly terrorist attacks since 9/11. Furthermore, the bombing of Super ferry 14 in Manila is the most lethal maritime terror attack to date. The intentions and capabilities of Southeast Asian groups to target regional governments and Western interests have not diminished from 2001 until 2012. In fact, ASEAN countries are likely to witness more incidents of terrorism in the future.

### Islam and its teaching

Islam is a monotheistic and Abrahamic religion articulated by the Qur'an, a text considered by its followers to be the verbatim word of God (Allāh) and by the teachings and normative example (called the Sunnah and composed of Hadith) of Muhammad, considered by them to be the last prophet of God. An adherent of Islam is called a Muslim. Islam's doctrines and texts have been associated with violence. Islam also contains peaceful doctrines, as well as laws requiring the eradication of what is considered evil by Islamic standard and law, sometimes using violent means. These two sides co-exist in the Islamic tradition. Attitudes and laws towards both peace and violence exist within the Islamic tradition.

The Prophet Muhammad, who disclaimed power to perform miracles, firmly believed that he was the messenger of God, sent forth to confirm previous scriptures. God have revealed His will to Jews

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<sup>17</sup> Rohan Gunaratna, *Terrorism in Southeast Asia: Threat and Response*, <http://counterterrorismblog.org/site-resources/images/Gunaratna-Terrorism%20in%20Southeast%20Asia-Threat%20and%20Response.pdf>, accessed October 9<sup>th</sup> 2012

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

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and the Christians through chosen apostles, but they disobeyed God's commandments and divided themselves into sects. The Qur'an accuses the Jews of corrupting the scriptures and the Christians of worshipping Jesus as the son of God, although He had expressly commanded them to worship none but Him.<sup>19</sup> Having thus gone astray, they must be brought back to the right path, to the true religion preached by Abraham. This was Islam, the absolute submission or resignation to the will of God.

The Qur'an preaches the oneness of God and emphasizes divine mercy and forgiveness. God is almighty and all-knowing, though compassionate toward His creatures He is stern in retribution. He enjoins justice and fair dealing, kindness to orphans and widows, and charity to the poor. The most important duties of the Muslim are faith in God and His apostle, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and (if possible) pilgrimage to the sacred house at Mecca, built by Abraham for the worship of the One God.

Many of the terrorist have been taught by skeptical cleric who told them the suicidal bombing will lead them to heaven. It is very possible they misinterpreted the verse, or perhaps translate it out of context. Mostly they note the verse from Qur'an 4:76 "The true believers fight for the cause of God, but the infidels fight for the devil. Fight then against the friend of Satan, Satan's cunning is weak indeed." There is no such correctness in this interpretation because somebody who kills innocent people already had been warned in Qur'an. Verse 5:32 said " ... whoever killed a human being, except as punishment for murder or other villainy in the land, shall be deemed as though he had killed all mankind ... " <sup>20</sup>

Many international experts who dislike Islam say that Islam teaches violence and war. They quote verses without full passage and always forget the context of the revelation of the verse. Some verses that always used as the basis for thoughts of violence Islam are:

Qur'an in chapter 9 (*At Taubah* – The Repentance) verses 1-6 says:

1. Freedom from (all) obligations (is declared) from Allah and His Messenger to those of the Mushrikun (polytheists, pagans, idolaters, disbelievers in the Oneness of Allah), with whom you made a treaty.
2. So travel freely (O Mushrikun) for four months (as you will) throughout the land, but know that you cannot escape (from the Punishment of) Allah, and Allah will disgrace the disbelievers.
3. And a declaration from Allah and His Messenger to mankind on the greatest day (the 10th of Dhul-Hijjah - the 12th month of Islamic calendar) that Allah is free from (all) obligations to the Mushrikun and so is His Messenger. So if you (Mushrikun) repent, it is better for you, but if you turn away, then know that you cannot escape (from the Punishment of) Allah. And give tidings (to Muhammad) of a painful torment to those who disbelieve.
4. Except those of the Mushrikun with whom you have a treaty, and who have not subsequently failed you in aught, nor have supported anyone against you. So fulfill their treaty to them to the end of their term. Surely Allah loves Al-Muttaqun (the pious).

<sup>19</sup> Dawood, N.J, (translator) , *The Koran*, Penguin Books, London, 1997, p. 2.

<sup>20</sup> Duaa anwar, *The Everything Koran Book, Indonesian Edition*, Karisma Publishing, Batam, 2007, p. 240.

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5. Then when the Sacred Months (the 1st, 7th, 11th, and 12th months of the Islamic calendar) have passed, then kill the Mushrikun wherever you find them, and capture them and besiege them, and prepare for them each and every ambush. But if they repent and perform As-Salat (Iqamat-as-Salat), and give Zakat, then leave their way free. Verily, Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful.
6. And if anyone of the Mushrikun (polytheists, idolaters, pagans, disbelievers in the Oneness of Allah) seeks your protection then grant him protection, so that he may hear the Word of Allah (the Qur'an), and then escort him to where he can be secure, that is because they are men who know not."

In another verses at same chapter Qur'an says :

28. "O you who believe (in Allah's Oneness and in His Messenger (Muhammad)! Verily, the Mushrikun (polytheists, pagans, idolaters, disbelievers in the Oneness of Allah, and in the Message of Muhammad) are Najasun (impure). So let them not come near Al-Masjid-al-Haram (at Makkah) after this year, and if you fear poverty, Allah will enrich you if He will, out of His Bounty. Surely, Allah is All-Knowing, All-Wise.
29. Fight against those who : believe not in Allah, nor in the Last Day, nor forbid that which has been forbidden by Allah and His Messenger, and those who acknowledge not the religion of truth (i.e. Islam) among the people of the Scripture (Jews and Christians), until they pay the Jizyah with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued.
30. And the Jews say: 'Uzair (Ezra) is the son of Allah, and the Christians say: Messiah is the son of Allah. That is a saying from their mouths. They imitate the saying of the disbelievers of old. Allah's Curse be on them, how they are deluded away from the truth!"

The expert who used these verses to explain violence of Islam surely did not acknowledge the book of *Ashbabun Nuzul*, The Context of Revelation. But the same way can be use also to teach and train terrorist. Without realizing the context, they can go to a war at anytime in any condition just saying they follow the Qur'an verses. But it is the history that tells us how the religious leader who knew more about Islamic teaching will never tell any violence or causing a fear. And they have vast majority of adherents. Cheking up the number of Muslim population, it will be considered that the majority of Muslims are peaceful people, who live also by these verses.

The radical Muslim applies only a very small minority, who resorts to violence to achieve their purpose. For example, in Indonesia alone, there are over 200 million Muslims. And finding the number of those militants is like to found a drop in the ocean. Unfortunately, some people stubbornly consider the acts of these militants as correctly representing Islam, instead of the acts of the 200 million Muslims in Indonesia.

It is very easy to find the peaceful context of Qur'an verses. Even all the chapter started with the sentence : "In the name of God The Most Gracious Most Merciful". Most Gracious (Ar Rahman) and Most Merciful (Ar Rahiim) are only two names among the other ninety nine, which is consist also the Almighty/The Invulnerable (Al Aziz), the Avenger (Al Muntaqim) , and The Destroyer/The Bringer of Death (Al Mumit). Most Gracious and Most Merciful sounded 114 times in the Qur'an, and everybody

should take care about it, not just busy with verses about war which should be accepted by its condition in 6 century AD.

It is clear that war can only be brought with many terms and conditions. Even in the war situation the peaceful verses of the Qur'an outlaw the murder of innocent people, women and children. As we can see in the verses follows :

- Fight in the cause of God those who fight you, but do not transgress limits; for God love not transgressors. (Qur'an, 2:190)
- But if the enemy incline towards peace, do thou (also) incline towards peace, and trust in God: for He is One that all hear and all know. (Qur'an, 8:61)
- If thou dost stretch thy hand against me, to slay me, it is not for me to stretch my hand against thee to slay thee: for I do fear God, the cherisher of the worlds. (Qur'an, 5:28)
- God does not forbid you from showing kindness and dealing justly with those who have not fought you about religion and have not driven you out of your homes. God loves just dealers. (The Noble Qur'an, 60:8)
- And fight them until persecution is no more, and religion is for God. But if they desist, then let there be no hostility except against wrongdoers. (Qur'an 2:193)
- Let there be no compulsion in religion: Truth stands out clear from error: whoever rejects evil and believes in Allah hath grasped the most trust worthy hand hold that never breaks. And Allah hear all and know all things. (Qur'an, 2:256)
- Again and again will those who disbelieve, wish that they had bowed (to God's will) in Islam. Leave them alone, to enjoy (the good things of this life) and to please themselves: let (false) hope amuse them: soon will knowledge (undeceive them). (Qur'an, 15:2-3)
- Say, 'The truth is from your Lord': Let him who will believe, and let him who will, reject (it):.....(Qur'an, 18:29)
- If it had been thy Lord's will, they would all have believed,- all who are on earth! wilt thou then COMPEL mankind, against their will, to believe! (Qur'an, 10:99)
- Say: 'Obey Allah, and obey the Messenger: but if you turn away, he is only responsible for the duty placed on him and you for that placed on you. If you obey him, you shall be on right guidance. The Messenger's duty is only to preach the clear (Message). (Qur'an, 24:54)
- Say : O you that reject Faith! I worship not that which you worship, Nor will you worship that which I worship. And I will not worship that which you have been wont to worship, Nor will you worship that which I worship. To you be your Way, and to me mine. (Qur'an, 109:1-6)

There are also so many hadith that say the prohibition of killing women and children in war. Such as Hadith collected in Sunan Muslim book, as follow: "It is narrated on the authority of 'Abdullah that a woman was found killed in one of the battles fought by the Messenger of Allah (may peace be upon him). He disapproved of the killing of women and children."

It may be asked, "If this is the case, then why do we see that the prophets and imams engaged in violence, as stated in the Qur'an?" <sup>21</sup> Like the verses in Qur'an 3:146 : "How many of the Prophets fought (in Allah's way), and with them (fought) large bands of godly men?" and the verse on Qur'an 66:9, "O Prophet! Fight the Unbelievers and the Hypocrites, . . .". And why did the imams Ali, Hassan and Hussain participate in wars?" The reply to this is that this was based on a question of priorities. The issue was to choose the lesser of two evils; just as when a patient reluctantly agrees to undergo a surgical operation to amputate a limb in order to prevent greater harm to his body and health. If the Prophet Muhammad, had ignored the pagans and their mischievous deeds and had left them to their own accords, that would have resulted in the loss of thousands, if not millions, of lives, whereas the given response of the Prophet Muhammad limited it to less than fourteen hundred. Soon the one hand we have violence with tens of thousands or millions, and on the other violence with less than fourteen hundred. Clearly the latter would not be called violence compared to the first.

Non-violence has many manifestations. It is not merely to refrain from swearing back at someone who swore at you, or to abstain from hitting back at whoever hit you or shot you. To stubbornly hold on to your views when amongst a group who have opposite views to yours, refusing the majority opinion, is also a manifestation of violence. Stubbornness is a kind of violence. Another kind of violence is to frown at others, and another is to pass by someone without greeting him. All of these, amongst others, are manifestation of violence. Hence Islam actively encourages desirable behaviour and practices such as "making a bond with whoever severed with you, and giving generously to he who denied you". Even more, The Prophet Muhammad is quoted as saying, "Shall I inform you of the best morals of this world and the hereafter? (They are) To forgive he who oppresses you, to make a bond with he who severs from you, to be kind to he who insults you, and to give to he who deprives you."

The teachings of non-violence Islam was also carried out in Southeast Asia as also in Indonesia. The two largest Islamic organizations NU and Muhammadiyah are clearly disagree with the acts of violence and terrorism in Islam. According to KH Hasyim Muzadi, former NU chairman, NU saw four approaches to see, prevent and address terrorism; First, a proper understanding of the conditions that give rise to the spread of terrorism; Second, to prevent and combat terrorism; The third approach, is to build the capacity of countries in combating terrorism; Fourth, to ensure respect for human rights and the rule of law.<sup>22</sup>

According to NU's view, many things can led to the rise of terrorism and it is very close to the daily life of the community, are poorly understood by the government. Terrorism does not always appear on the basis of religion. Fundamentalism or liberalism will not be effective to eliminate radicalism. Terrorism is not Islam and Islam is not terrorism. The emergence of Muslim terrorism is misunderstanding of the nature of religion itself. So do not look at the integrity of Islam in a

<sup>21</sup> Imam Muhammad Shirazi, *Non-Violence in Islamic Teachings*, <http://imamshirazi.com/non.html>, accessed October 20<sup>th</sup>, 2012.

<sup>22</sup> Okezone, *Bahaya Terorisme Masih Menjadi Ancaman*, 23 Maret 2010, <http://myzone.okezone.com/content/read/2010/03/23/1333/bahaya-terorisme-masih-menjadi-ancaman>, accessed October 10<sup>th</sup>, 2012.

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comprehensive, yet fragmentary understanding. One understanding is then developed into the abuse of religion. Related to terrorism, actually a lot of factors came from non-religious event, but claiming the use of religious matter.<sup>23</sup>

Nusron Wahid, Chairman of the Central Youth Movement Ansor who also Golkar politician, shouts loudly asked the government to dissolve the Pondok pesantren that is not teach Pancasila and the Constitution. In the tradition of NU, the statement taken by autonomous bodies, such as the Youth Movement Ansor, IPNU, IPPNU, Fatayat, Muslimat never stand alone or without central office consent, and this is a tradition that continues in the keep. So it can be understood that Nusron Statement already had been approved by KH Said Aqil Siradj, NU Chairman. Even though the KH Aqeel Siradj spend his religious education in Umul Quro, Saudi Arabia which is the center of Wahabi school that accused by Nusron.<sup>24</sup>

The second largest Islamic Organization in Indonesia Muhammadiyah has a different view. Condemning terrorism doesn't make the organization forget to protect the Muslim community. Man can accused somebody to be the terrorist, but still it needed to be fairly judged. It is not fair to generalize all Muslim groups as violence supporter or terrorist. Government should be careful when labeling a group as a terrorist. "For example, government tends to naming Islamic boarding school as radical groups. Government should remember that many national heroes coming from boarding school," said the youth leader of Muhammadiyah Saleh Daulay during a discussion on September 2012 in Jakarta. According to Saleh, reviewing Counter-Terrorism Act also needs to be done, and the clause concerning the rule of law and the definition of terrorism needs to be clarified. Saleh added, to do the de-radicalization, the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT) and the related anti-terrorism needs to involve all elements of the nation.<sup>25</sup>

When acts of terrorism emerged in public life, government always associate it with the seeds of terror makers which lie on Pesantren Al-Mukmin, Ngruki, Sukoharjo, Central Java, and Saleh Daulay tries to straighten out those views. According to him, the public can not constantly blame Ngruki and generalize all graduates Ngruki as terrorist networks. "Ngruki always used as a basis when there Terror. If that institution produces terrorism, why do not you just shut Ngruki, why the government would continue to maintain, if it is considered dangerous," Saleh said.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Kuningan News, *Bahas Isu Terorisme, PBNU Bakal Gelar Munas*, <http://kuningannews.com/index.php/berita/tentang/nasional/9958-bahas-isu-terorisme-pbnu-bakal-gelar-munas.html>, accessed, October 12<sup>th</sup>, 2012.

<sup>24</sup> Wawan Sam, *Statemen Nusron Wahid: Perang NU terhadap Terorisme, Nii atau?*, <http://politik.kompasiana.com/2011/07/18/statmen-nusron-wahid-perang-nu-terhadap-terorisme-nii-atau/>, accessed, October 12<sup>th</sup>, 2012.

<sup>25</sup> Arrahmah, *Pemuda Muhammadiyah: Labelisasi teroris menyinggung kalangan Islam dan pesantren*, <http://arrahmah.com/read/2012/09/10/23077-pemuda-muhammadiyah-labelisasi-teroris-menyingsgung-kalangan-islam-dan-pesantren.html>, accessed September 12<sup>th</sup>, 2012.

<sup>26</sup> Kiblat, *Pemuda Muhammadiyah: Jangan Kambing Hitamkan Pesantren Kalau Tak Mampu Atasi Teroris*, <http://kiblatindonesia.com/generasi-muslim/817-pemuda-muhammadiyah-jangan-kambing-hitamkan-pesantren-kalau-tak-mampu-atasi-teroris>, accessed September 12<sup>th</sup>, 2012.

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Ngruki is one of some boarding school accused of bringing terrorism to Indonesia. It is also used to teach new school of Islam that tends to be radical. The concept of Islamic radicalism and in fact can be seen from the new features brought by its teachings. So it will raise a new group that tends to be radical and subject to commit terrorism.

The characteristics of the new sect in Islam which is not derived from the teachings of Islam are: First, it is creating a part of Islam that does not have a relationship with him, and then claimed that it was created as part of the base or primary basis for distinguishing faith and unbeliever; second, it is giving important place for a doctrine contrary to the Qur'an and Sunnah, then teaching it as a base to make divisions among the people; Third, it is taking extreme position in the interpretation, views and ideas, and then accuse someone who does not have the same idea as an evil, perverted and infidels; and fourth, It is appointing a particular person associated with the Prophet Muhammad on the high position of religious affair and makes obedience to him as criteria of faith, or considers himself or his group as the sole holder of the monopoly of truth.

## **Conclusion**

Terrorism is a new form of international political interaction. Terrorists create fear in the community and caused many deaths and injuries. International terrorist networks in the last decades come from radical Islamic groups such as Al Qaeda, led by Osama Bin Laden. Although Bin Laden had been shot dead in 2011, the terrorist movement remains, because the teaching was based on Islamic teachings.

Security cases in Southeast Asia showed resurgence of terrorism with the new network. But terrorism is also associated with rebellion problem, minorities, law enforcement and welfare. ASEAN has strengthened its regional organization for inter-state relations to solve the problem of terrorism. Each country set up anti-terrorism laws, found a special institution which handles the problem of terrorism and launched Special Forces to overcome terrorism.

But more important to eradicate terrorism is to catch the source of idea which led to the teachings of Islam itself. Many countries and western scientists considered the verses of the Qur'an itself teach violence and terror, but the verses are often viewed cut apart or quoted out of context. On the other hand, there are many verses that teach peace and rule out violence and war. Indonesia as the country with the largest Islamic population in the world is an example of how most people condemn terrorism, including the idea of the two largest Islamic organizations that NU and Muhammadiyah. While NU denounced radical actions, Muhammadiyah emphasized the need for carefulness to analyze terrorism. An error in labeling Muslim groups as terrorist and insulting Islamic faith will only increase the hatred from Islamic community and produce new terrorism.

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### **Brief Resume:**

Hikmatul Akbar is lecturer of International Relations Department, UPN “Veteran” University of Yogyakarta, Indonesia. He is also the chairman of Academic Commission on University Senate which started on 2010. He held several positions before, as Vice Dean on Academic Affair of Faculty Social and Political Sciences (2005-2009), Head of Diplomacy Laboratory (2003-2005) and Editorial Secretary of Academic Journal of ‘Paradigma’. He finished his academic education in Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. His academic interest focuses on Politics of Identity, Ethnic Conflict, Politics of China, and Latin American Politics. In the year of 2012, he publishes a book with the title ‘Integrasi Etnis Muslim Hui di Cina’ (Integration of Ethnic Muslim Hui in China).